

The prisoners of Action Directe, Jean-Marc Rouillan, Joëlle Aubron, Nathalie Ménigon and Georges Cipriani, are incarcerated since 1987. Condemned to perpetuity by the French State, continually treated with a ferocious obstinacy, they represent a history of revolutionary struggles and resistance which many would like us to forget. This interview against oblivion, and to find again the sense of revolution...

in the solidarity with the prisoners (to commence with)

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Interview with the

Collective of Prisoners of



ACTION
DIRECTE

I. Armed Struggle

Anarchist Black Cross

If the innocent deserves our solidarity ★ the guilty does so even more

The Anarchist Black Cross is an international network of autonomous anarchist groups in support of revolutionary prisoners. To build a movement which attacks the system, it is necessary that this movement defends itself. All too often revolutionaries were/are forgotten and abandoned in the prisons.

The ABC thinks that in a society with other political, social and economical conditions, prisons will be superfluous. Moreover, prisons only have one function; the defense of the interests of the ruling classes. We support thus also those initiatives, and in the first place when coming from the prisoners themselves, which go into the direction of the abolition of the prison system.



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ENLEVÉ LE 3 MAI DERNIER
M. SUAREZ
le directeur de
la banque de Bilbao
EST LIBÉRÉ
SEPT ANARCHISTES
ESPAGNOLS ARRÊTÉS
DONT TROIS DANS LE GARD

AVEC UNE PAROLE DE
LA BANCA D'ALBA
Directeur: Morale Sáenz Guzmán

Les G.A.R.I. : l'autre-pouche
L'ABC, le groupe d'Anarchistes
Révolutionnaires de la Région
Iberique, a été créé en 1974
pour défendre les intérêts
des anarchistes en Espagne.
Il a pour but de lutter
contre le régime franquiste
et de libérer les prisonniers
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LOS DOS SEQUESTRADORES DE SUAREZ EN EL MOMENTO DE SER LLEVADOS A LA PRISION DE PARIS.

LE 13 FEVRIER à 20 H 30
44 Rue de Rennes M. St Germain des Prés

MEETING DE SOUTIEN AUX INCULPÉS DES

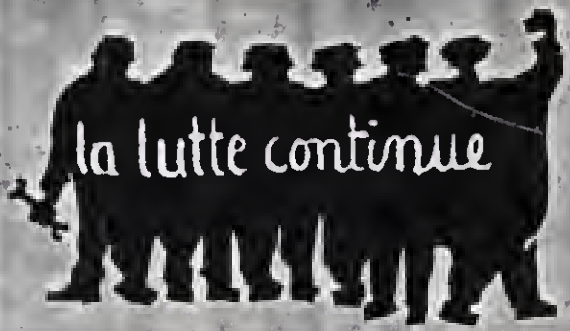
G A R I

COMITE DE DEFENSE
COORDINATION ANARCHISTE - MARSE
ORGANISATION REVOLUTIONNAIRE ANARCHISTE (RGA)

Flambée de violence en France
Trois voitures de plastiquées à Saint



BRIGATE
ROSSE



⁹ Che: "Let's create two, three, numerous Vietnams" April 1967.

¹⁰ The Olivier group didn't defend then the revisionist positions they did claim during their trial in the beginning of the 90ies.

¹¹ Affiche Rouge - Red Poster, in reference to the poster put up by the nazis after the execution of two communist resisters of the Immigrant Work Force, better known as the Manouchian group.

¹² Term evoking the first phase of the left PS-PC government in 1981-1982.

¹³ Crisis defined by the weakness of the imperialist bourgeoisie in confrontation with the proletariat and the oppressed masses and the revelation of the incapacity of this same bourgeoisie to implement measures to counter the tendency of the profit rate to drop. This crisis of weakness, at the end of the 60ies, or crisis of extraction of surplus value, was aroused by the combined momentum of the political struggle against imperialism and the resistance of the proletariat of the centres. It is the accumulation of these combats and resistances of the exploited classes which transformed the conjunctures of economical unsteadiness into a situation of crisis of domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

¹⁴ "On the State" by the collective of communist prisoners of the Red Brigades, 1981

¹⁵ Evocation of the last speech of Karl Liebknecht before his assassination.

¹⁶ Every year, some twenty million new Chinese workers enter the labour market. The arrival of new workers on Tricont represent every year the equivalent of the industrial working class in the cradle of the system which represents Western Europe.

This interview has been conducted in the period between the Spring of 1999 and the Summer of 2000. It took such a long time mainly because of lack of time (on our side) and because of the prison conditions imposed upon the interviewees. About these conditions of detention this interview doesn't talk much, we did choose to speak extensively about it in a second part ("Prison Struggles"). For the moment, sufficient is to say that they are exceptional in comparison with the "normal" conditions of imprisonment already unacceptable. The fate of Georges Ciprioni and Nathalie Ménigon, both seriously sick as a consequence of the "white torture" they have to endure since much too long, is a clear manifestation of this.

The aim of this first part - "Armed Struggle" - is to tell a part of the history of revolutionary armed struggle in Europe, a history that has been falsified, mystified, etc. in many ways. This isn't surprising, history always has been written by the conqueror, and AD has been defeated...

So, period, let's turn the page? Of course not, history isn't finished, and if a lot still has to be said and done, we are sure that a new generation in search of another future will take advantage from a better knowledge of the experiences, practices and reflexions of these groups of men and women who dared to struggle.

Dare to struggle - Dare to win!

Wish you all a good reading

Love and Struggle

ABC-Gent

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Geismar ahead, and the new autonomous movement. With Pierrot, the first hoped to bury 68, and they counted on the complicity of all the grouplets of the institutional opposition. The second provided the arms of a new antagonism. Some weeks later, as it was a last honor, the NPR kidnapped a responsible of Renault but, meanders of too much talk, this ended in changing the popularity of this action into one of the main reasons of its auto-dissolution... And since then, one has to understand clearly that, on this territory, the murder of Pierrot is the cornerstone of the split of the revolutionary movement, at one side the cooptation (the "responsible" repression - légale et pacifiste - of the protest movement) and at the other side the incompatibility of the radical resistance. And it is thus not by coincidence that, in '77, the Pierrot case comes back at the front of the stage quite naturally with the appearance of combatant organisations. The IB incinerate the drive bridges of the Renault cars in Billencourt and the NAPAP execute Tramoni after his brief stay in prison. And neither is it a coincidence that 10 years later, during its offensive against the industrial restructurations, Action Directe claims the 'execution of the "skimmer" Besse, PDG of Renault, in the name of the commando Pierre Overney.

⁶ Councils: the red thread of the workers' councils (or soviets in Russian) is rooted in the very history of the proletarian revolutionary movement. It was theorized after the Russian revolution of 1905, then in October 1917 and during the European revolutionary wave till 1923: the Hungarian revolution, the German one, the republic of Bavaria... One finds this idea of autonomous management of the workers assemblies also in the revolutionary committees of Shanghai and Canton. And in every revolutionary wave since, during the Spanish revolution, May 68, Autumn 69 in Italy, ...

The opposition of the left against the centrist line of the bolsjevist party and the communist internationale after 1923 defended a resolute councilist line to relaunch the revolution and slow down the conservative fusion of the unique party with the State.

The great Dutch marxist theoretician Anton Pannekoek wrote: "The Workers Councils". One also has to read from Herman Gorter (in the name of the KAPD Communist Workers Party of Germany). "Answer to Lenin", one can also read numerous texts of the bolsjevist workers opposition around Alexandra Kollontai.

⁷ More than 200 people have been killed during attacks against banks, union meetings, trains. In the beginning of the 80ies one of the most bloodiest against the train station of Bologna made 80 victims. These operations were organised by clandestine organisations of the NATO (such as Gladio) with the complicity of the Italian secret services; concerning the organisms of repression, one has to think of the creation of the European judicial space, the formation of the TREVI group or the preparations of the vigipirate plan ('78)...

⁸ Allusion to the petition text signed by Négri and other "senoritos" of the subsidized autonomy, such as the text of Moulier-Bouthang "For a new new deal" (!!!) winter '98.

Notes

¹ Gauche Prolétarienne- Proletarian Left: historical organisation of rebellious maoism formed in 68 and which had its glorious days between 1969 and 1972. As "Vive la Révolution", another great spontaneous maoist organisation of the time, GP had nothing to do with the very orthodox pro-China maoism and the different marxist-leninist chapels pro-Albania or not. It was the crucible of numerous and very diverse antagonistic experiences. From classical struggles to the illegalism of the masses, to the first steps of the guerilla, to the daily newspaper Libération, or to the putting into perspective of the autonomous movement. It auto-dissolved itself in 1973.

² Nouvelle Résistance Populaire-New Popular Resistance: armed wing of the GP. Its nucleuses realised some twenty more or less important operations of which the most famous still is the kidnapping of the engineer Nogrette. The NPR disappeared with its mother organisation in 1973.

³ Raoul Sendic, leader of the Tupamaros MLN, at the time imprisoned, today disappeared. Before being nominated in Paris, colonel Trabal was one of the principal responsables of the bloody repression in Montevideo. Juan Manot, militant of the ETA condemned to death and executed in september 1975. Reza Rezai, leader of the Fedayins guerilleros of the people assassinated by the Iranian dictatorship. Ouali Sayed, leader of the Front Polisario killed in combat. The BI took the name of Che Guevara to execute general Zentano cause he played a decisive role during the chase and assassination of the leader guerillero in 1967.

⁴ "Our practise inscribes itself in the edification of the organised labor autonomy within the popular movement. Our aim is not to appeal for the formation of 1, 10, 100 NAPAP directed by a central bureau, style headquarters of the potential popular violence. We go for another stage which consists in merging ourselves in the dynamics of the movement and not in searching the head in an official or schematic way". Old myths have long lives and the NAPAP still pass for having been a "maoist" organisation even if they always did defend themselves against it. "We have nothing to do anymore with the etiquette "maoist" which the press stuck on us so conveniently. If it is true that old maoists belong to NAPAP, it is not only from the assessment of the liquidation of the "Proletarian Left" or of "Vive la Révolution" that we have formed ourselves". (Texte de mise au point NAPAP 77)

⁵ The death of "Pierrot" Overney marked a fracture in the antagonism of post-68. This young militant was killed with several bullets in february 1972 while he was distributing leaflets before the gates of the Renault factory of Billancourt. His murder had a considerable echo in the working class which the regime tried to bring to heel again. Especially at the Régie where the wild struggles of the OS assured the continuity of the resistance. More than 100.000 people followed his coffin. And in this mass walked together and this for the last time, the old liquidatory leadership,

1) Before entering the history of Action Directe itself, we would like to talk about the "prehistory" of AD. Prehistory which is if not largely unwritten in any case barely known, and thus important as such. Prehistory which is also - in our view - important to understand the internal history of AD.

So, AD is born, in 1979, out of a coordination of different armed groups as the MIL, GARI, the BI or the NAPAP, and in a time marked by Autonomy. Could you tell us more about these groups and about the autonomous coordination itself?

Since the beginning of the seventies, numerous groups tried to resolve in practice the question of revolutionary counter-violence. They agitated on the wave of the movement of the barricades, the factory occupations, the rank and file struggles... Made up as networks of self-defense, they carried within themselves the whole resolution of the illegalism of the masses during the huge mobilisations that succeeded each other in these years of antagonistic agitation. Concretely, these networks constituted what *la Gauche Prolétarienne* (GP, the Proletarian Left)¹ called a bit wishfully: "the bases of the popular armed resistance to the dictatorship".

In the Spring of 1977, while forming itself, the autonomous coordination did break through the confines of all these leftist groups. In particular, it left behind the old ideological cleavages to unify, on the field of the clandestine struggles, the "maoist" tendency with the one coming out of Mai 68, made of a mosaic of legal and illegal anarchist, anarcho-communist, ultra-left groups. There were then the maoist armed groups as the International Brigades, the autonomes as the Noyaux Armées Pour l'Autonomie Populaire (NAPAP, Armed Nuclei for Popular Autonomy) or the organisation Camarades and the old anti-francoist coordination of autonomous groups that formed the MIL-GARI (Movimiento Iberico de Liberacion and Grupos d'Accion Revolucionaria Internationalistas).

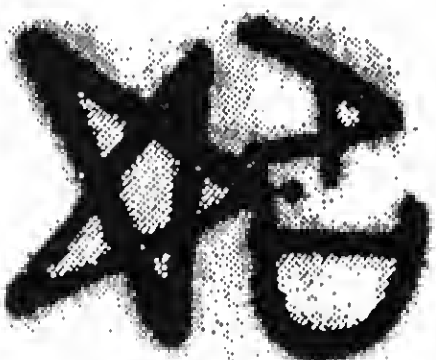
Between brackets. In the ritual negation and rewriting of these years, it is common to pretend that the French state miraculously escaped the armed revolutionary antagonism. "*Move on, good people, there is nothing to see!*". Nevertheless the numbers are there: between 1974 and 1981 there were more than 3000 attacks attributed to the extreme left. Of these some hundred with fireweapons that caused the death of more than 50 people. In no way, this history comes down to what the incensories of the system and of the integrated opposition recollect: radical talk and strategic resolutions for "*conspirators*" in slippers. It was made of real acts, struggles, blood and prison.

But let's return to that prehistory as you say cause it is true that the youth do know very little about these first armed organisations.

To synthesize. The International Brigades have been formed at the time of the disintegration of the maoist movement in the course of the year 1973. Locally they were the answer to the liquidation of the GP-NRP (Nouvelle Résistance Populaire, New Popular Resistance)² after having played a major role in the antagonism after '68, not only in France but equally in the neighbouring countries, for example in Italy where it influenced considerably the creation of the Red Brigades. Many sectors refused categorically the institutionalisation of the movement after 5 years of insurrectional struggles, appeals to armed struggle and preparation for the guerrilla of the people. Young militants of Western Paris formed this internationalist nucleus and launched the first armed operations. They claimed in december 74 the execution of colonel Trabal, Uruguayan military attaché (Brigade Raoul Sendic); in october 75, the attempted attack against captain Garcia, Spanish military attaché in Paris (Brigade Juan Manot); in may 76, the execution of J. Zentano Amaya, ambassador of Bolivia in Paris (Brigade Che Guevara); in november 76, the attempt against Humayoune Keykavous, attaché of the Shah regime (Brigade Reza Rezay); in july 77, the attempt against Ahmed Ould Ghanahalla, ambassador of Mauritania (Brigade El Ouali Sayed).³

The NAPAP consisted also partly of militants who had refused the shipwrecking of the GP-NRP. They were joined by younger and more "spontaneous" militants. Youngsters who reflected the emerging antagonism of political autonomy. Besides, in a first interview, the NAPAP refused the label "maoist" and already preferred that of "*combatants for autonomy*".⁴ In the course of their brief existence, only

revolutionary engagement could connect elements which are today separated from praxis, rediscover the practical meaning of autonomy, the sense of critical rupture, of the anti-capitalist struggle and the anti-imperialist struggle, of anti-fascism and anti-apartheid, of class solidarity. It is at this price that the unity of the movement and the goal could again open a perspective.



offensive on our continent is possible if it takes as its departure the permanent demand for unity. Nothing can be born from nothing and sure not from conciliation and demi-ruptures with the western bourgeois regimes. Today even more than in the former decade, the metropolitan politics are build upon the reactionary division of the global proletariat. We do not believe in the recovery of the welfare state. There is no future for a capitalism with a human face. Neoliberalism and militarism are indispensable for the actual survival of capitalism. As such, poverty and inhumanity will remain for a long time the images of global proletarianisation. Transnational revolutionary struggle is thus the principal pivot for all action of social transformation.

20) How do you conceive armed struggle in Europe today?

We don't conceive the armed struggle, that is we don't imagine it, very simply because it exists. Because it lives and is experienced in thousands of conflicts on all the continents, in Turkey, in Lebanon and in Palestine, in India, in Columbia, in Mexico... Everywhere men and women have taken their arms in insurrection.

As a consequence, our interrogations try to grasp how to generalize the global proletarian combat here and in the first place how we can join and support that which already exists. We never believed that the guerrilla could be in the continuity of the preparations of sectarian groups. They are based too much on the mechanisms of worn models which are endlessly recuperated by the permanent contra-revolution. The problem is not to reproduce or to invent but to keep weaving links in practise in response to the questions of the time.

How to smash the repression which cleans its weapons here and strikes at the four corners of the world? How to act as a guerrilla in the metropole at the sides of the global proletarian struggles? That is to say, how to act in a revolutionary strategy of neutralisation of the powers of the monopolies, an indispensable action for the general offensive of the proletarians of Tricont. This is a problem not only fundamental for the proletariat here but also for the proletariat of Tricont cause this action is a condition sine qua non for its victory.

For this, one has to start from what already exists on Tricont and in the internal peripheries of the metropolises, and agitate for unity in action of the class. In the development of the dialectic of unity, the armed

some months at most during the year 77, they realized some fifteen operations (against the fascist union, employer's headquarters...). But they became known foremost for the execution of the vigilante Tramoni responsible for the assassination of the young worker Pierre Overney.⁵

As for the organisation Camarades and its magazine, of which militants as Nathalie and many others come from, it was before anything else a political pivot around which numerous expressions of the autonomous movement gravitated. Camarades established in fact the first practical links between the "spontaneous" heirs of the rank and file committees and the many libertarian militants disappointed by the immobilism of the official anarchist movement. Obviously, most did practise the illegality of the masses, from sticks during demonstrations to nightly sabotages. One could find there in particular the hard core of the squats and the successive waves of young syndicalists excluded for "leftism" ... All these groups were very heterogeneous but all were under the growing influence of the new Italian movement.

In the South of the country, the context was very different. The engagement to take up the gun after '68 led the militants quite naturally to confront the question of the Francoist dictatorship at the other side of the Pyrenees. Barcelona and Bilbao are much closer to Toulouse and Montpellier than Paris. So, a nucleus of young Toulouseans (of which Jean-Marc) participated in the very first outpost of the revolutionary guerrilla which constituted in Catalonia the Movimiento Iberico de Liberacion (MIL). Formed in 1970, this organisation claimed simultaneously the anti-fascist heritage of the "maquis" of the fifties and sixties, and the complete anti-capitalist critique of its time. As such, the MIL was not an anti-francoist resistance group as the others nor could it be another ideological splinter group. The more because it wasn't ideologically homogeneous, it regrouped communists claiming the historical experiences of the councils⁶ as well as anarchists. These "contradictions" made it one of the most radical groups that could experiment an armed practice very close to the social struggles. But they were fiercely repressed and definitively dismantled at the end of the year 1973. One of its members, Salvador Puig Antich, was moreover the last political prisoner to be submitted to the punishment of the garot.

The experience of the MIL was spread to numerous French and European autonomous groups through the GARI. In fact, during the trials against the militants of Barcelona, the GARI did assemble around

the "exiles" from the ML, numerous autonomous groups in solidarity. During the year 1974 they realized several dozens of attacks against the interests of the Spanish dictatorship while revealing and denouncing the objective complicity of the European "democratic" regimes. But here again, the GARL cannot be reduced to a simple antifrancoist opposition, even when armed. They agitated at the heart of the first great offensive of the guerrillas that shocked the continent. And they cannot be detached abstractly from this context. For example, during the kidnapping of the PDG of the Bank of Bilbao, in May 1974, it is not by simple coincidence that their revendications are an echo of those of other similar operations in the neighbouring countries. The comrades of the 2nd of June in Berlin did kidnap Peter Lorenz and the Red Brigades the judge Sossi. All tried to deter the State at the field of political detention and to pose the question of the liberation of the revolutionary prisoners.

And neither is it a coincidence that it is on the field of political detention that the first practical links of the autonomous coordination were established. Numerous maoist and GARL militants passed the quarters of the political prisoners in the Prison of Santé (Paris). They have had to fight side by side against the State Security Court. At the same time, numerous groups outside did fight together against the same repression. Then, in 1977, there were also the mobilisations following the execution of the comrades of the RAF in Stamheim and the extradition of their lawyer Klaus Croissant. The coordination did play a dominating role in assuming numerous attacks and acts of sabotage.

All this doesn't mean though that we only agitated against the repression. In the same year '77, the autonomous coordination waged other agitation campaigns of which one very important against nuclear energy, with at its peak an active participation in the march on Malville and a blue night of 23 attacks all over the territory. The coordination agitated also against the introduction of temporary labor, the high costs of living, real-estate speculation, the exploitation of the workers on the construction-sites and by the slumlords.

2) And 1977 was a key date in this autonomous antagonism?

In 1977 there was of course the great Italian insurrectional movement, the "asambles" on the Iberian peninsula, but also in France a broad proletarian movement refused the reformist line and the liquidation of the experiences after '68. We anticipated the possibility to shovel

Triade that had to let pay the whole planet for the general crisis of the capitalist mode of production.

In the 70ies, more than two thirds of the active global population still lived in countries which were for a large part cut off from the markets of the international economy. These countries were isolated because of the historical, social economical or ideological obstacles, reinforcing the barriers to the circulation of products and capitals. With the repercussions of the bourgeois offensive in the eighties: the three gigantic centres which are the exUSSR, China and India, **making close to halve of the active global population**, enter with big steps as producers and consumers a reunified market by the transnational dynamics of the great productive firms¹⁶. But also, in the upheavals of the local productions, millions and millions of people find themselves displaced and proletarianised.

And here we come up to the crucial problem that few comrades evoke when they throw up the revolutionary struggle in our time. Not seeing further than the end of their street or worse willing to reproduce eternally the same old colored images, they refused to study the evolution of the proletarian class, that is the evolution of its liberation course during this historical rupture.

With transnational monopolistic capitalism we have entered with both feet in a time dominated by global proletarianisation. To synthesize. Three principal characteristics are at work: The proletarian constitutes today the majority of the population, this class is essentially located in Tricom and in the peripheries of the urban centres. And the formation of this universal proletarian sure is one of the primary elements of the actual crisis of the capitalist production mode. It is the time of the great face to face foreseen by Marx, the immense proletarianised masses faced with the dictates of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. The social polarisation reaches its height in the globalisation of the capitalist production relations, social polarisation since the annual resources of the 359 big bourgeois correspond with the resources of 2.9 billion individuals (44% of the world population), and imperialist polarisation since the gap between the income of the population of the Triade and those of the population of Tricom has been multiplied by 8 in less than a century and keeps growing.

In the 80ies, we have tried to respond to the strategic question of the unity of the proletariat. We have made tactical propositions and we have experimented them. Today, the perspective of a new revolutionary

revolutionary movement. The one has to enrich itself with the action and the consciousness of the other and vice versa.

Along the eighties, the bond between the revolutionary movement and the guerilla has been undone. Sure, under the blows of the repression and manipulations of the state, but not only this, cause the movement itself broke away and withdrew into a "resistencialism" of testimony. It plunged into the local, the immediate and the partial. And in many ways, the guerilla didn't correspond anymore with the perspectives (or better, lack of perspective) of a movement that refused to look beyond the horizon. At no moment could it curb the general depolitisation.

As during all the leaps in the fascisation process, while the bourgeoisie politicises its attacks, the proletariat abandons the politics it did build up to return to its economical struggles. Everywhere revolutionary politics retreated. One talked about fascism but refused to denounce imperialism. One talked about the struggle against neoliberalism but refused to unmask the only possible accumulation regime in this phase of the crisis of capital. One satisfied oneself with petty ideological quarrels and little routine activities, electoral or not. Simultaneously one bartered solidarity and anti-imperialist unity for humanitarian charity.

As a consequence, one cannot touch upon our failures without recognizing that the guerillas were not the only defeated, since all the revolutionary political expressions of the proletarians in the metropolises were defeated. In our opinion, the moment the European proletariat holds its autonomous hammer high again, it will provide itself with guerillas as it does on Tricont today. The defeats of the eighties are not definitive, the bloody week of 1871 did not prove the incoherence of the proletarian revolution.

19) So you think that the strategic proposition you defended during the eighties is still valuable?

Since the eighties, it has not been negated, to the contrary, all the developments of imperialism did support its imperious necessity. Very simple because it was based not merely on the local and punctual conjuncture of the contradictions but on a fundamentally right intuition of the proletarian subject itself. It was composed within the historical perspective of the counter-offensive of the powers of the imperialist

ourselves into these places of opportunities and to open others even more decisive. For this we had to dynamise a new elan for the strategy of proletarian autonomy and a new political jump towards the prolonged class war. Both were closely related, we were well aware of the fact that the the autonomous praxis could only take root if firmly linked with the calling into question of the monopoly of violence by the state. The more since the general crisis and in particular the crisis of the state pushed the institutions and the relations of power to the authoritarianism of technocratic management. We were certain that the use of state violence in social conflicts would inexorably tend to be generalized while at the same time the manipulation of the spectacle would guarantee the spotless "democratic" image. The example of the massacres in Italy or the creation of the police and juridical arsenal without precedent were a confirmation of this.⁷ Even if in the metropolises state violence assumes other forms than in the three continents of the South, it does not disappear, neither does it soften, to the contrary, the system militarizes itself in all domains and in particular in the sphere of social control. By opening new spaces, revolutionary counter-violence became thus more and more indispensable for the revelation of the real character of the bourgeois "democratic" system, and as such for the guarantee of a correct conscientisation of the terms and implications of class struggle.

Faced with this reality, we were before anything else convinced of the historical failure of the sectarian left groups. The NAPAP wrote: *"the liquidation of the autonomous factory strongholds, of the local Red Help groups, the immigrants movement at the origine of the national strike of september 73, numerous experiences since 1968 within the youth, offensive activities of farmer-workers, often reduced to nothing due to quarrels between the cliques, etc. This hard worked on liquidation is to be written on the heavy account of leftism... Besides the remains of the cultural left still 'in vogue', the traditional extreme-left has nothing else to propose for 1978 than a critical support of the united left"* (text of NAPAP 1977). Hence the necessity to rethink the concept of revolutionary struggle itself *"in the light of the objective conditions and the real development of the autonomous movement of the european proletariat"*.

For us, the autonomous movement did express the antagonism which was the closest to the composition, the interests and the resistance of the new proletariat in the industrial countries. Everywhere, from Berlin to Rome, from Barcelona to London, it had broken with the traditional

binomial of the Party-union reproduced till grotesque by the leftist groups. The autonomes diffused in the factories and the neighborhoods new forms of struggle and generalised them, self-organisation, wild struggles, the takeovers and the redistributions... Hundreds of confrontations revealed the growing power of the action and grassroots committees as the fundamental political quality of the organisation of the masses in struggle. In France, there were the wild struggles of the mass workers at Renault, the epic of LIP, the struggle of the immigrant workers in the Peimaroya and Chausson factories or against the merchants of private or state social apartments. There was also the struggle of women, of homosexuals, the farmer and wine growers committees. Struggle that spread also to the prisons with the great revolts of 1974...

Of course this antagonism had nothing to do with the chic radicalism reformism of those who, today in their Paris salons, usurp the history of autonomy by appealing to the myth of the Welfare State⁸. Autonomy is a critical rupture and not a state office "on the left side of the left". It represents the unifying content of the antagonisms running through all the social relationships and does not simply signifies autonomy from the institutional organisms of the parties and unions of the old left. It goes back to the liberation movement of the proletariat itself. Autonomy is not born at the end of the 70's, neither in the momentum of '68. Since a century does this movement makes it way, from the workers' councils of 1905 to the Italian autumn of '69. It's a practise of struggle, a process of education and organisation. A combatant process revealing at its course the complete break with and criticism of "the bourgeois political institutions (State, parties, unions, legal institutions, etc.), the economic institutions (the capitalist productive-distributive machinery), the cultural institutions (the dominant ideology in all its articulations), the normative institutions (customs, bourgeois morality)".

On this long travel, 1977 is really a keydate in the history of social revolt and even if not-too-distant in time, this is hardly recognized. And with reason! As an Italian comrade wrote, if the bourgeoisie was capable to recuperate '68 and to use its mythology, this was not the case for '77. The autonomous revolt had brought the criticism to such a degree that it was impossible to make it compatible with the colorful picture of the contestation. It had to be denied, to be swept away from the memories, and the bearers of this experience had to be eliminated.

necessary political orientations to renew itself in a lively relation with the social movement.

In the middle of the eighties, we have done things which were very just and clear. We did strike very hard. We attacked the NATO head on in Germany, in Italy, in Belgium, in Greece, in Portugal... We hit the employers' vanguards engaged in the neoliberal struggle, the responsables of mass dismissions such as Besse ("skimmer" at Alcatel, Pechiney and Renault) or the responsables of the great privatisations in the GDR). We attacked concretely the worst "enemies of the people" and yet it was not sufficient to convince about the crucial need for such a revolutionary opposition and "despite everything"¹⁵ our ultimate barricade did fall.

Today, the NATO promotes the war in Europe. Today, it contaminates several countries with low uranium GBU27 bombs. Today, the misery and the insecurity touch not a "quarter of the world" but is the reality of the masses of the "working poor". Today, the commandment on work is a real employer's and statist terrorism who made a social contract implicating only "accept or starve". Where are the fighting vanguards in Europe?

Eliminated because 400 revolutionary militants are still imprisoned? If it only was so simple.

18) Doesn't the problem or, if you want, the error sinuates itself precisely in the fact that you make a difference between the movement and the guerilla?

In our view, the essential cause is not there, if so diffuse guerrillas of the movement would have developed. At the contrary, they were the first to disappear during the bourgeois counter-offensive. In France for example, there were not a few small armed organisations of the movement who realized numerous attacks, such as "Gdansk-Bakounine" for example. In Italy, such organisations were much more numerous, more structured. Yet, all were defeated since '82-'83.

As we already said, if the guerilla belongs to the revolutionary movement, there is a rational distinction between the guerilla and its strategic tasks at one side and the spontaneous action of the movement at the base at the other side. The importance resides in the capacity to make a lively dynamic interaction between these two poles of the

hardly modified statism. The new cycle of struggle now has to be marked by the resolution of this historical heritage. Till the absurd, these two regimes reproduced an ever stricter separation between the struggles for economical liberation and those for political rights, between the objectives of political democracy and those of social democracy. And yet, today as never before in the past, it is impossible to make a separation between those two objectives, there is no economical liberation without political liberation, there is no political liberation without social emancipation. In our time, the political struggles have to correspond with the globalisation of the economical world and the economical struggles have to correspond with the geopolitical strategies which run through it. The whole movement must take his in consideration. At the workplace, the committees of struggle have to overcome the "syndicalist consciousness", everywhere where spontaneous revolts and struggles with concrete demands burst out. And the revolutionary committees must challenge the "citizen consciousness" by opposing the subsidized managers of the false opposition. The struggle against the imperialist state becomes this state of rupture with all the forms of reproduction of statism in the class and in the movement. The conquest of the powers by the revolutionaries in the 21st century will be a revolution capable to go beyond the democratic revolution and the simple statist "proletarian" management or it will not be.

17) Even if one accepts that your strategic concept was coherent given the geopolitical upheavals in the beginning of the 80ies, how do you explain your isolation and finally your defeat?

First of all, let's be clear. One has to call a spade a spade and a defeat a defeat. One shouldn't be afraid of words and try to elude such a serious problem as some comrades still pretend to do. We who always affirmed that the political and the military are indissociable in the latest phase of monopoly capitalism and at every moment of the revolutionary struggle, we are not in a convulsions of pretexts going to say that we have been defeated on the military domain but not on the political. Since some ten years, the guerilla as a revolutionary communist force has completely disappeared on our continent. This is a fact without any ambiguity. The repression, no matter how ferocious it was, doesn't explain it all. The revolutionary engagement on which the guerilla thrived didn't find the

3) Was AD this autonomous coordination (thus of more or less different groups, organized in a rather loose structure) or was there from the beginning a certain political and/or organisational centralisation?

No, one has to specify that this coordination cannot be resumed to an organisation AD "before AD". In the course of some months, the armed groups did converge in the fervour of the autonomous movement which had the coordination as backbone. Then, they slowly detached themselves from the movement to assure their real role as a guerilla organisation. The autonomous coordination and AD cannot be confused but, from a historical point of view, they are indissociable.

The daily militant practise of autonomy consisted of occupations, violent demonstrations, classical militant mobilisations but also of attacks and expropriations. All this formed a political whole. Nevertheless, the armed struggle couldn't be handled as the other practises of the movement. It demanded a specific relationship of the militants towards its use, as well as towards the political orientation of the ensemble of revolutionary organisms. The guerilla could only fuse with the dynamic of the movement from the outside. The more the movement became animated and grew, the more the guerilla had to take in its own hands its specific and strategic task. The more it had to reflect the new step of the proletarian autonomy in the centre.

The guerilla becomes the means to conquer the power at the expense of the regime of formal powers. The armed struggle has become the answer, the strategic weapon against the generalisation of the counter-revolutionary policies to all institutions, even to the heart itself of the political and syndical organisms which the working class had procured for itself. The activity of the guerilla points permanently to the revolutionary essence; it is the strongest link between the struggle of today, the criticism-rupture and the aim.

In a period of time where the spectacle banalises the revolutionary word, recuperates it and exploits it endlessly while waiting for the "mornings that chant", this power to conquer consists before anything else in the opening of new political spaces for the autonomous movement and the whole class, to offer a perspective, to define clearly the principal stakes, to mark the frontline faced with the State and the oppression. It is here that the interactive relationship between the guerilla and the class movement as a whole takes place. And it was possible at the end of the

70's, cause in Europe, the revolutionary politics advanced steadily on its two legs: the movement and the guerilla. The one doesn't develop without the other. We know it is common these days to oppose them. For example, the RAF did join this negligence and dissolved itself using the rhetoric of the sacralisation of "the basis". Others present themselves as eternal vanguards who have to mould the movement on the image they have of it. This eternity has been conferred to them in the psalms of more or less understood catechisms. But since several decennia, the revolutionary experiences demonstrate that there is no real revolutionary movement without organized actions of sabotage and class war, as their is no powerful partisan warfare without the political responsabilisation of a large movement at the basis.

Since the end of the year '78, AD agitated already as a specific organisation and prepares its first offensive which will start the following first of May with the attack on the employers' head office and some weeks later with the operations against the Ministries of Labour and of Health as well as the Secretary of immigration. The relationship of the organisation with the old coordination had developed from an internal one into a relationship between armed organisation and movement.

As such, the emergence of AD in the heart of the coordination is a constructive process within the initiatives of struggle. And its internal political structuration took equally several years, from experience to experience faced with repression and blows endured. The organisation had to evolve by force of circumstances, it had to stick to the events and in the line of struggle. An organisation that acts on the frontline as AD cannot satisfy itself with organisational models or outlines. If this is of less importance for a legal or semi-legal organisation, for a guerilla, the slightest mistake in the functioning has an immediate sanction. This is why the organisational questions are debated permanently, re-evaluated, criticized and rectified. The organisational relationships of 1978 have little in common with those of 1981 or of 1983 or again with those of 1986. Very briefly, in '78, AD functions on the basis of relatively autonomous colonies. In 1981, in semi-legality, the structure is very "movementist". In 1986, the organisation functions on the same organisational bases as the RAF with a very dense nucleus of guerillas. However, one can say that the decision-making of a metropolitan guerilla always starts from the principle of collective decision-making. In fact, the centralisation of the guerilla organisation has nothing to do with

social classes, the more the state becomes hegemonic. In return, we can complete by saying that locating statism actually becomes the crucial element that permits us to seize the transnationale conjuncture of this conflict and to position ourselves correctly in this new order of things.

Simultaneously, the more the new state raises itself above society, the more it is obliged to penetrate and to control in depth the whole society and all the relationships between individuals. It reproduces itself even inside every individual by "an informational irradiation of simple and rudimentary orders, in a drill manner, repetitive, systematic, diffuse, pluralist, overabundant and utilizing multiple instruments", as such the state constructs "an informational field which impregnates by saturation the complete social space of the metropolises"¹⁴. In the metropolis, the citizen has become the agent of the state, the diligent and "voluntary" substitute. Even within the movement, one invokes citizenship at any place at any time, but in the confusion, this talk can be resumed to the glorification of one's own subordination as subject of capital.

Faced with this invasion of work and daily life, not one moment of liberation, not even partially, most limited, can succeed without confrontation with the social control state, and this till the finish, until its total destruction. This is why the conquest-destruction of the bourgeois state cannot be caricatured as a new assault on the Winter palace. It is neither a fortress to take, nor an instrument to use simply in favour of the proletariat, it is a complex of apparatuses and statist relationships one has to subvert, surround, submerge in a war of long duration. Here again, faced with this pluridimensional combat, the idea of a front of different revolutionary instances and organisations is decisive.

It is further necessary to study the question of the subversion-destruction of the power relations in light of two observations brought by the final decades of the 20th century. At one side, the democratic revolution for a gradual amelioration of the metropolitan bourgeois regimes has been a failure and today all its characteristics can be resumed to a simple conservative revolution (in no way does it take as its objective to challenge radically the real dictatorship of imperialism). Similarly, the statist management of the proletarian interests, foundation of the popular republics, gave birth to a dreadful statism imposing the simple substitution of one bourgeoisie for another one. One has to stress that here it was about two forms essentially devoted to the conservation of a

system in its globality. Not only, as proofs the reduction of labour time in the Aubry version, is every revendication not inscribed in a global project rapidly digested by capitalism and spitted out in the form of shit. But more, no concession escapes from the logic according to which, if capitalism holds back here it's only because it can extort more surplus labour elsewhere from 9/10 of the workers. Worse, this kind of short-sighted concessions reinforces the metropolitan chauvinism in the name of which the "homelands of the safe-boxes" transform themselves in as much "homelands of human rights". The simple adjustment of the reactionary bastion of the monopolies puts itself in the service of the imperialist relationship.

The whole quality of the resistance resides in this conscience and practise that one is capable or not to diffuse into the proletarian masses to release and break the hold of the dictatorship of the triadic monopolies (economical, financial, political, ideological-cultural monopolies). Thanks to this approach, anti-imperialism will give back some vitality to the anti-capitalist criticism in our old industrial countries. It allows to place oneself on the main terrain of the class struggle in our time, because fundamentally it is about a struggle between global classes. The radical break with the opportunism of strictly metropolitan fights is the foundation of every revolutionary action. The false unity on the sole terrain of the imperialist nation-state leads to ever more division and divergencies: division of the international proletariat, chauvinist and racial division, economical division between the Triade and Tricont. It is simply reactionary.

16) Well, this being given, can the conquest of state-power still be the main objective in a revolutionary strategy?

Of course! The conquest of the state powers remains the key to every reinforcement of the power relation in the class struggle. The State has always been the war machine of the bourgeoisie. It still is today. Even if the nation-state transforms itself, it integrates itself into a more complex transnational system (the globalisation crystallizes new statist relations: global regularisations, economical and financial, political and military authorities, WTO, IMF, NATO, VN, ...). The domination of the state over the whole of social relationships is based on the antagonism of the classes. The more imperialism expands a savage polarisation of the

the myths of the authoritarian hierarchy diffused by many libertarian comrades as much alibi for their non-engagement. The decision-making runs through all the organisms and all debates and assures the autonomy and the responsabilisation of the guerrilleros. The general line is determined in common and its reproduction in the tasks to fulfil is assumed by every militant. But it is also true that we were confronted with the realities of repression which imposed on us secrecy and clandestinity, compartimentalisation, separation of tasks... for this reason collective decision-making is never hundred percent.

4) Often one presents the history of AD as an evolution from a more or less anarchist organisation towards a more or less marxist (leninist) one, is it that simple?

The history of AD has never been an "evolution" from anarchism to marxism. It is true that this is part of the commonplaces about our history. Yet, already in 1982, in our piece "*Pour un projet communiste*" we refused "*the very old boogy-trapped quarrel*" that wanted us to make believe that social history can be resumed to a cartoon in black and white, with the good and the bad ones, the just and the bureaucrats, the realists and the adventurers... Social history is a totality and to explore it, one must be free to be able to criticize all diversions and all the errors wherever they come from. We wanted to learn from the experiences of Che, of maoism, of council communism as well as from the struggles of the Spanish anarchists. History advances masked and with the time numerous periods and positions come to stand in a different light. One always has to be able to explore and to reexamine the essential questions of the revolutionary road. And for this, one has to leave the old paradigms and models. If our heads would have stayed filled with "eternal" truths (that would be worse than religious adoration!), we always would have been in the impossibility of situating ourselves within the great mutations of our time. That's why we, in the course of our struggle, rejected the same old doctrinal debates to rediscover the sense of social experimentation and the theory of the real movement.

Precisely, one of the great victories of the bourgeoisie in the years '80-'90 was the reconstitution of the ideological zoo of leftism as it existed in the 60ies. Since the post-war, everything shows how in "the heart of the

beast" the program of Capital and its democratic mask desperately needs the extreme left chapels. That's a fact. While accepting the "democratic" game of the regime, while recuperating and co-opting the outraged, these "revolutionary" political expressions contribute to its permanent relegitimation. They agitate in fact for the counter-revolution and the imperialist domination.

The return of these grouplets is based on the formation of sects considered as the nec plus ultra of the rupture. Simultaneously, the anathema replaces political criticism. One does not break radically with the system but with the nearest "too anarchist" or "too stalinist" chapel. Political contradiction isn't anymore the means for a dynamic of confrontations and practices, it is simply used to divide and to ideologize. In this degrading context, false ruptures are made absolute and neutralise the responses of the proletariat faced with the aggressive politics of the bourgeoisie. While one has to mobilise them to take action against reactionary neoliberalism, war, the pauperization of the masses,

5) *But still, there were divergences? One cannot deny that there were differences between the MHL/GARI and BI/NAPAP, and it's difficult to believe that these differences didn't play a role inside AD. Besides, Frederick Oriach, ex-member of the NAPAP, in an interview while in prison in 1983, deplares that the NAPAP dissolved itself and joined AD precisely because he considered AD as too much influenced by the anarchist-like theses of autonomy. And Régis Schleyer wrote us recently that he is not a member of the prisoners' collective of AD because he is a marxist-leninist, AD is too "subjectivistic" ... ?*

We don't deny there were divergences within AD. Quite the contrary, we think they were the reflection of a lively and conscious organisation, aware of the situations it had to confront. But they never (or only incidently) took the form of a confrontation between exmaos and libertarians. Even in the very beginning when the militants didn't have yet a collective political experience.

But one has to remember that the maoists coming from the GP or from Vive la Révolution didn't have much in common with the dogmatics of today. To understand well, one has to remember the polemics of GP with the "marxist-leninist orthodox" in the beginning of the 70ies. Today, the backlash is such that some comrades talk with nostalgia

more and more a homogeneous and dynamic totality. At any time, the class struggle is marked by this fusion, and no revolutionary moment can escape from it because the main confrontation stands out to be the one between the transnational bourgeoisie, which unites around itself the complete imperialist camp of the counter-revolution, and the camp of our class, the camp of the global proletarian revolution. It's important to remember the words of Che: "Eventually, one has to take into account the fact that imperialism is a global system, highest stages of capitalism, and that it is necessary to defeat it in a great global confrontation. The strategic objective of this struggle has to be the destruction of imperialism".

The comrades who labeled us anti-imperialists and thought by doing this to remove from us that of communism only showed their incapability to go beyond the metropolitan conceptions. While, as a force of fusion of two types of struggle fighting for the "common revolutionary front", the guerilla established in practise a definitive break with the institutional ways of protesting and the submission to reformism be it social-democratic, revisionist or 'extreme-left'.

Here we touch a crucial point. Cause many comrades think that to be a revolutionary in the metropole, it's sufficient simply to place themselves on the left of the CP or to rectify its errors with a return to the sources of a new "bolshewist party". And this while the globalisation, the new capitalist production relations, transnational monopolistic capitalism, and the global class struggle which these heavy tendencies sustain, impose a qualitative jump upon the revolutionary forces.

The old movement in our country carries within itself a very strong metropolitan chauvinism, often hidden under the jumble of localist or nationalist discourses: struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, develop the intermediary revendications in priority, create the national organisation to respond to a dominant national conjuncture, see also the ridiculous "produce French" of the CP in the 80ies before it became, today, the watchword of the left "communists" claiming the nation-state against Maastricht! This eurocentrism is a political-cultural inheritance, in which the idea to bring "civilization" is rooted. Sure, not in the form of the colonialism of the "heroic" times, nevertheless the idea remains that a social or political conquest here will be diffused there, following the centrifugal development of the capitalist production mode....

Yet, it is a fact that no economical or democratical revendication in the centre can be put forward without a real criticism of the imperialist

This dynamic relationship quite naturally gives shape to a criticism of the concept of the popular front put forward by the binomial party-union since the 30ies. The revolutionary front is henceforth the instrument for the development of the joint struggle. It has to transform the diversity of local-national and continental experiences into the same class struggle, the same protracted war, class against class. Its basis is no longer the bringing together of the national forces, it is the construction of the class front. It foreshadows as such the recomposition and the greatest unity of the proletarian forces. That is why the revolutionary front makes possible the unity of the communists and not the opposite.

One has to note that today the marxist-leninist grouplets have nothing better to propose than again another return to the popular front. For the most, they advocate (?) agreements with the "progressive" forces of one's "own country". Elaborating as such programs likely to gather the reformist forces, the non-monopolistic bourgeoisie and the diverse social-democratic expressions, they hook upon the nation-state as the confines of a bourgeois revolution to be followed (citizenship, equality, formal rights, ...). So, in the 80ies, if they didn't associate themselves bluntly with the propaganda, they had simply nothing to say about the revolutionary front.

15) Agitate as a party fits, in our opinion, in a strategy which aims at the conquest of (state)power. Isn't there a problem here? The anti-imperialists f.e. have as their objective national liberation, that is the conquest or construction of a (nation)state. Isn't it so that your conception of the front takes all too easily as a fact the unity of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles?

First of all, one should not reduce anti-imperialism to anti-colonialism. We confront the capitalist system globally in an imperialist age, and colonialism represents only one aspect of the dictatorship of the monopolies.

In our time, the fusion of the anti-capitalist with the anti-imperialist struggle isn't just a point of view but the indispensable comprehensive criticism of capitalist oppression and exploitation. As such the international character of revolutionary action in no way expresses itself as an anti-capitalist struggle which is parallel with the anti-imperialist struggle. With the development of the global social production, it forms

about GP with the words of its worst detractors as the PCMLF (Parti Communiste Marxiste Leniniste France) and other OCMLF (Organisations...).

About the current of councilist or libertarian autonomous groups, they had no ideological arrogance at all. They already did hurt themselves too much on the "ultra" - orthodox ones to understand the dangers of powerlessness coming from sectarianism.

There has always been a relationship between between ideology and the absence of concrete practice and class solidarity. With the retreat of the movement, numerous militants did fall into the torments of armchair theoretical research. And quite naturally this is even more the case for prisoners, as you cite those two examples. They claim to be true "marxist-leninists" without seeing how they behave simply, in this affirmation of the absolute without concrete political practice, as romantics.

Che said: "At the moment of struggle, the form which take the actual divergences constitute a weakness; but in the state they're in, it is an illusion to try to resolve them with words. History will wipe them out one by one or will give them their real sense."⁹

6) After the omneity in 1981: a short but very "moving" period: the occupied houses of Barbès, rather "playful" actions together with more "severe" ones... and finally the dissolution of AD ordered by the government in August 1983. A crucial period for your organisation, wasn't it?

The years 1981-1982 were indeed crucial years, and not only for our organisation. And it is important to grasp the reactionary turn that took place in these years. The generalisation of the crisis dominated the global economy. The main Western countries fell into a recession without precedent. Unemployment rose with 22% in one year, and in the OECD states, for the first time since the crisis of 1929, it went beyond the rate of 10%. At the same time, after the counter-blow of the Mexican debt crisis, the debt of the countries of the Three Continents weakened the complete global financial system.

Since the beginning of the crisis of 1973-1974, the imperialist bourgeoisie tried in vain to impose a series of measures to relaunch the economic activity. It all turned into fiascos. The evidence imposed itself to all governments. No half-measures would save the old fordist model

of accumulation born in the post-war. It wasn't anymore about a punctual and partial crisis, the bourgeoisie had to find the force to install a new accumulation model. This means that obligatory the governments had to impose, in an intensified balance of power, compromises for the new local and international regulations. In the first place, it had to re-establish the rate of profit by restructurations, massive lay-offs, complicity... It had to throw off the yoke of the "inter-national" world, inheritance of Yalta: from there the immediate reliance of the Cold War and the arms race. But more, they had to redesign the neo-colonial regulations to reduce all upsurge of resistance in the dependant countries. On all these lines, the bourgeoisie attacked in full force. It had no other choice.

In France, and this is not as strange as it seems, the reactionary turn was set in motion with the electoral victory of the social-democrats. In a few months, the government of the SP and CP sold off the hopes of 12 years of struggle in this country and ended up by jumping on the neo-liberal train of austerity and militarism. The social-democrat bourgeoisie represented the only political force capable of maintaining a large consensus on the politics of austerity, precisely where giscardism failed.

7) During this period some splits occured within AD. In an interview with the daily newspaper "Libération", Jean-Marc mentions three currents. Which ones? Was it about the some divergences as before or not?

The reactionary turn imposed on us some decisive choices too and it was not easy to take them. It is clear that, confronted with these choices, the organisation was not unanimous, that is the least one can say. Between the different approaches, the debates were bitter.

One can resume as such:

- On one hand, a liquidator tendency which abandoned gradually all reference to the guerilla, under the pretext of a return to the praxis of the movement. The arrival at power of the reformist-revisionist left represented for them the opportunity of a return to the political Establishment. Their arguing turned around the pivots of the ideological counter-offensive of the system: "the revolutionary cycle has ended", "the theories of the old are no more valid", "the end of work means the end of the proletariat", "reformism and revolution are no longer

mode, the centrality of the nation-state and the rigidity of the class relation in the factory. With transnational monopolistic capitalism, the state detached itself of the "national" and together with flexibility-precarity, the class relations were diffused from the factory to the whole society, to all domains of life. Even if the creation of surplus value is still central in the process of class struggle, the diffusion and the multidimensionality of the conflict is undeniable. From then on, starting from their concrete experimentations, the revolutionary forces had to advance other propositions. One had to go further than the rank and file committees and the autonomous coordinations, and resolve the new political-organisational forms of the autonomy of the class in the metropole.

14) Did the concept of the front had to replace the concept of the party?

We don't reject the party form. It only had a completely other nature as in its precedent phase.

First of all, the party-organisation couldn't agitate anymore as director and supreme organiser of the struggles, it had to be at the service of the struggles, and it had to accept that the class produces "its own moments", its autonomous political levels". Agitate as a party constituted a concrete criticism of the social-democratic degeneration of the bureaucratic parties. The deciding factor resided in the capacity of the different revolutionary parties and organisations to make alive an open relationship with the multiple expressions of the autonomous struggles of the proletarian masses, and to agitate concretely for their politisation and internationalisation. To agitate as a party also had to assure a unity between the political and the military in the construction of vanguards (vanguards internal to the class and its revolutionary movement).

These mutations formed the essential core of all the organisational revolutionary resolutions. As a consequence, the concept of the front assumed a new nature. Simply because, as we just stressed, every revolutionary organisation fulfils its role right to the end under the one condition that it can coordinate with different other vanguards fighting on its territory but also on different territories at the same time. At the same time it agitates distinctively and within the front.

relations which are neutral from nation to nation, but the extension-contradiction of the dominant social relation (the commodity, technological, cultural and ideological exchanges, the circulation of capital, credit, migrations, ...). As a consequence, it is a complete structuring momentum that appears, and continuously tears apart, disrupts, redimensions the old forms and contents of the capitalistic organisation, in the first place the limited spaces of the national borders. The social process is no longer (only) a relation from state to state, as a consequence the relations between revolutionaries of different countries can no longer be resumed as merely relations between sister parties as they pretended.

13) Yes, but even if one does not accept the marxist-leninist solutions, the question remains: the concept of unity poses the question of organisation, isn't it?

In fact, the mutations taking place demanded other solutions than only a revolution in space. In particular, they pointed out very sharply the problem of the political-organisational relations in every reality of struggle: between the different experimentations, between the different struggles, rank and file struggles, regional struggles, national and continental struggles, in the whole geostrategic zone, partial struggles and struggles against the strategies of the imperialist bourgeoisie, struggles against the continental reaction and struggles for liberation, proletarian emancipation struggles, struggles of women, anti-racist struggles... The domination of capital was more complex in the entanglement of spaces but it was equally complex in the intense ramification and penetration of the imperialist social relations. And it was even so complex that flexibility from now on expressed the essential quality of the new accumulation model. Marx wrote that the forms and methods of the struggle of the proletariat have to correspond with the forms and methods of domination. This relation is historical. And in the eighties, we passed from the quality of rigidity of the Taylor-Fordist system to forms of flexibility-precarity of neo-liberalism. This decisive rupture could not leave the revolutionaries indifferent.

May 68 did already reveal the crisis of the binomial party-union, it couldn't but get worse. The unique and centralised organisation corresponded to two forms of domination of the capitalist production

opposites"... This talk can still be heard today in that part of the movement that doesn't but look at its metropolitan navel. Concretely, this tendency doesn't constitute a concrete group, it cuts across numerous structures. It played upon the inability of many comrades to make a decision faced with the mutations taking place.

- On the other hand, some comrades refused every notion of a new stage. Everything was "invariably unchanged" according to the "radical" formula. They reproduced thus the discourse of AD of the end of Giscardism in the name of the continuity of the revolutionary rupture.

If for the first tendency, the gun wasn't but anecdotal in the development of revolutionary politics, a necessity at one moment and at another not, in certain places and not in others, as the most vulgar opportunists proclaim since 50 years; the second sees only in the gun the bright future of the revolutionary project, for them "mai piu senza fucile" became "solo il fucile". In fact, for both, the creative dialectic of the unity of politics and military was broken. As a consequence, both the politics and the military became incoherent and thus incapable to advance the slightest real alternative.

8) Concretely, is it at this moment that the split with those whom the propogondo called "AD notionale" took place?

Not at all. And here again we come to a commonplace of the counter-propaganda against our organisation in the 80ies. The group of Lyon sure belonged to AD, but it was excluded since the Spring of 1980. We did reproach them a deviation in its functioning.¹⁰ This deviation was verified later when the notebooks where Max Frérot made his act of contrition were found in one of the hiding places. This group continued its activities under the name Affiche Rouge in '83.¹¹ From 84 to 86, they claimed several attacks under the initials AD, making use of the media campaign about a national AD faced with an international AD. By inventing this scission and by creating confusion, the propaganda simply wanted to counter the qualitative leap which represented then the agreement with the European guerillas, for instance with the RAF. In reality, there never was an "AD nationale".

So, concerning the two real fractions that broke away from us during the period '81-'82: there was a first avowed split at the end of '81. It took for some time the name AD-*"historical core"* before it dissolved itself

progressively in the initiatives of the movement. It consisted essentially of groups of Paris very influenced by the "movementist" theses but who, paradoxically, took as a pretext to break away our implantation in the ghettos and particularly our involvement with the movement of occupations of houses in Barbès. To come back to your idea of divergences staying alive despite years of common struggle, one has to note that in this split one finds militants of all origins, ex BL, NAPP, autonomes and anarchists!

About the second split, you can take the same characteristics but tainted with militanism. It called itself AD-1st of August congress and indeed organised itself during the summer of '82. It regrouped numerous militants of Paris and the province who pretended to restart immediately the politico-military offensive. Finally, it disappeared one year later under the blows of repression and of internal divergences.

9) *What was your response, since you represent a third current?*

First of all we thought that the great upheavals taking place imposed on us a reading and an experimentation of the "new". It was necessary to sense the coming epoché, the evolution of the contradictions, the outlines of the new antagonism... This investigation was essential if we wanted to relaunch an offensive activity. And on our territory we had a real opportunity. Cause, if indeed we were faced with a reactionary turn, we would be obliged to fight and to fight hard, it is true also that "la vague rose"¹² gave us a respite and some space to develop other forms of combat: the occupations of houses and workshops in the great popular neighbourhoods of Paris, the first struggles of the undocumented people. We could live what the circumstances of the armed struggle usually forbid. We opened ourselves thus for the experiences of the movement and not only locally. We met revolutionary refugees, Turks, Arabs, Italians,... The actions and mobilisations followed each other and were quite naturally linked on the different terrains.

Nevertheless, if for one moment we would have thought that these struggles were sufficient for a revolutionary politics to take root on our territory, we would have reinforced without hesitation this front at the grassroots. But if many things did change tremendously, the leap forwards to the partisan warfare was the first condition for any real resistance and its generalisation in the imperialist centre. At every stage

eighties, this line constituted the authentic experience of a tentative to construct a centre of attraction for the proletarian antagonism on our continent.

- Unity in the anti-imperialist front against the common enemy, not only on the continent but also in the whole geostrategic zone of the Mediterranean and the Middle-East, where the future of the great historical contradictions will be determined.

12) *But this unity was not that obvious, and still isn't, neither in practice nor in theory. The F.C.C. for example, and other fighting communist organisations, have refused to join the front?*

The front is not an organisation, only a new manner to be internationalist and to tackle the questions of the time and in particularly the multidimensionality of the class struggle. The comrades who have diverted the debate towards a confrontation between "two lines" didn't help to pose the problem correctly. They simply thwarted it. In the middle of the eighties, the problem was not to take or not to take your card of the front but to act together or not, faced with a totally new situation. And obviously the concept of unity was not obvious after years and years of revisionist theory and "socialism in one country", in practice: a state socialism infected with chauvinism. No, it wasn't obvious. Worse, cause the marxist-leninist grouplets still lived in the myth of the besieged fortress, of the unique party (their of a completely different time), of the one and only truth against everyone else. One has to understand that the renunciation and dissociation of thousands of militants in the beginning of the eighties had stiffened their position even more. Quite correctly, we can be criticised for our reduction of the political offensive to the attack only and for other errors. But what could have been just in these critics was drawn in serious conceptual regressions. To the grotesque, these comrades defended the national formation while devaluating the problem of the european integration. Worse, they refused to analyse the globalisation of the social production and desperately held on a mechanistic explanation of the relations of concurrence and of the concentration of monopolies and of states. They repeated the very old revisionist error of grasping the globalisation as the sole global economy of states, that is the generic sum of the different national economies. And this while the globalisation is not a process of

Concretely, the profound mutations of the 80ies interfered in all domains of revolutionary theory and practise. Among other things, we did understand that the globalisation rested on two foundations:

At one hand, the drive beyond the "inter-national" imperialistic regularisation and the dominance of the transnational realities profiled an omnipotent given. The globalisation was "internalised" though in all social relations and became systematic at the time when capital made its leap towards real and global domination. With the diffusion of the rule of capital, globalisation is before anything else the implication of all individuals and of all classes in the production, exchange and political-ideological processes who become ever more interdependent. What was yesterday still the almost exclusive domain of transnationals and states isn't anymore. The activities of all the social actors are now part of the globalisation of human activities.

At the other hand, the integrated continental regions assumed a crucial role in the new regulations and contradictions (class and inter-imperialist contradictions). We lived the first steps of "fortress Europe", with the missiles crisis, the preparations for the Schengen space, the great restructurations and plans for the European Community, the "anti-terrorist" conventions, ...

For all revolutionaries, these upheavals meant a real challenge. First of all, faced with the movement of revolution in the space of domination, it was imperative to develop a perspective of a corresponding revolutionary combat. And one conclusion imposed itself without ambiguity: no politics could be revolutionary anymore while staying strictly within the sole national territory. With the disruptions of monopolistic transnational capitalism, the transnational realities of the contradictions dominated the local conjuncture. To consider only the local or the "national" became too partial and didn't have any sense for a perspective of revolutionary transformation. The partial was captured in the reserves of tolerated protest. Every revolutionary project had to pose immediately and concretely the question of the complexity and interdependency of the dominant imperialist spaces, as they then appeared. The revolutionary struggle itself had to interiorise the multi-space.

As a consequence, our priority became the elaboration of a combantant line which was based on the principle of unity:

- Unity against the reactionary formation of the European pillar which we put in practice with the RAF and other armed groups. During the

of struggle and on all domains, without the war of the guerilla, without the development of a strategy of struggle coherent with the struggles of the revolutionaries of Tricont, nothing was possible. At the contrary, with the development of the neo-liberal model, the transnational conservative revolution and the reactionary conformism ambient in the spectacular of the political games, the strategy of liberation requires always more ruptures and critical acts to affirm itself.

Very concretely, how could the movement on its own give a response to the globalisation of war which the western governments prepared and which started in June '82 with the Falkland war, the intervention in Chad and the invasion of Lebanon by Israël? Yet, this was the fundamental question of that period and it still is today with the wars in Yugoslavia, in Palestine and Lebanon still occupied, in Irak, ...

The war and more generally militarism expressed the global class war waged by the monopolist bourgeoisie to counter its "crisis of weakness"¹³, and to re-establish its domination. To rebuild its command of labour and to consolidate the imperialist domination, the bourgeoisie had to go beyond the narrow confines of the ancient socio-economical national formations which had become a real strait-jacket now. Its war had to extend beyond the old limits to be able to eliminate them more easily. As such the war clearly laid out the outlines of globalisation. It lived on the interdependency of situations. But it also inscribed itself deeply into the social relationships. As Italian comrades wrote in that period: "The imperialist state generalises the war by rooting it in its totality in every cell of the social fabric, not only to make it amorphous, but to hench it and to submit it, by means of illimited war, in order to maintain at all costs the relations of production... The war is not a final act of class opposition, but already today, it is interiorised permanently in every region of the social formation, in the complete spectrum of class relations, in the universe of social relations".

And these comrades knew what they were talking about! In Italy, huge raids were the indelible mark of the reactionary turn. The bourgeoisie had clearly decided to liquidate one of these centres of radical resistance: 5000 activists arrested in some months. Engagement on the "barricades" in the 80ies appeared to become much grimmer than it was in the preceding years. It was more demanding politically as well as humanly.

10) *According to you, what was the detonator of your repression, with as its - provisional - climax the dissolution of AD?*

Faced with the war preparations and the multiplication of conflicts, there are no 36 solutions. And for a communist the only just solution has always been to sabotage the war effort of imperialist militarism. Thus with his means, even the most modest, even from the standpoint of the smallest minority, he has to transform the war of plunder of the bourgeoisie in a civil war of liberation.

From the moment we showed our determination to confront militarism from an internationalist standpoint, for instance with the series of attacks against the celebration of the summit of industrialised countries in Versailles and during the launching of the imperialist intervention against Lebanon, we have extricated ourselves from the narrow executives of an acceptable and accepted metropolitan opposition. The media, the institutional politicians and the little civil servants of the movement pointed us out and denounced us, for them the appeal of a war against the war has to stay in the limbo of the banalisation of revolutionary messages and peaceful demonstrations. With our action, we broke the routine of the game, we stopped walking in circles, and simultaneously we redistributed the cards. It wasn't anymore the war elsewhere and a little lecture here, bombings in far away countries and metropolitan "democratic" tolerance. We made them understand what the globalisation of the war meant materially. And we revealed what was, in our countries, the real degree of collaboration with militarism. That is why it was urgent to silence us. "Socialists" and "communists" could not except to be unmasked as pillars of the war in this country. During the spring and summer of '82, the tension around these questions was even more decisive, cause it revealed for the first time the atlantist and reactionary orientations of the Mitterrand power circles. It is clear that already then the active participation of this regime at the missiles crisis and simultaneously the repression-pacification of the class movement came to the fore (it is at the same time that the austerity plan of Delors was studied in all secret).

One has to add that the state searched also an occasion to settle the contradiction of our legal existence. In fact, how could it accept an organisation of armed struggle with an official seat in the middle of Paris? Not an organisation which defended in abstracto the taking of arms or which declared to prepare itself for it (often it are the same

resolutions since 68!), but an organisation capable to put its orientations in practise. Finally, the occasion presented itself, and the government signed the decree of dissolution and forbid the organisation. The hunt could start.

The occasion was the attack of the rue des Rosiers; a grenade launched in the Goldenberg restaurant killed 6 civilians and wounded 20. The powers and the media used for the best this attack-massacre. Accusations of anti-semitism, confusion, made up stories, delirium, razias aimed at militants close to the organisation, they tried hard to incite hysteria.

As communist guerilla, we refuse the militantist approach these sort of attacks imply. If this wasn't the case, it would mean we didn't break with the State and its militarism. We are no soldiers and we are proud of this. Our violence is directed to the class enemies. Revolutionary violence is violence which has as its only aim the attack to the heart of power and not in the streets, on markets or whatever temples of consumerism.

So, the hunt started even before the dissolution decree of the 24th of August which forbid the organisation. The organisation was ready for such a situation. Not only did it see it coming, it gave a little push to this dissolution with the interview of Jean-Marc in Liberation the 17th of August.

Yet, even if our legality didn't last but some months, we could draw from it the strength and the determination of a real strategic project which, for us, did and still does correspond to the leap of transnational monopolistic capitalism at that time. We struggled with Turkish comrades chased from their country by the military coup d'état of 1980, with revolutionaries of the Near-East, but also did we strengthen our contacts with the German and Italian guerilla. During these months of intense discussions and exchanges, we have been obliged (by the force of events and the necessities of struggle) to go beyond the narrow confines of the national situation to seize the first counter-blows of the globalisation of the class struggle.

11) *This strategic projection is what you have called the "unity of the revolutionaries in Western Europe", or the concept of the "anti-imperialist Front"?*